## Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S/S:PTARNOFF:B APPROVED BY MR. TARNOFF

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O 062019Z DEC 77 ZFF4 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

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**NODIS** 

CHEROKEE EYES ONLY FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

FOL RPT ISTANBUL 3996 SENT ACTION SECSTATE DTD 06 DEC 77

QUOTE: CONFIDENTIALISTANBUL 3996

NODIS CHEROKEE

FROM AMBASSADOR SPIERS

E.O. 11652: ADS

TAGS: PGOV, UNGA, CY, TU

SUBJECT: CYPRUS MISSING PERSONS

REF: STATE 289685

1. I AM PRESENTLY IN ISTANBUL AND REFTEL WAS REPEATED TO ME HERE. I CALLED ELEKDAG THIS MORNING AND TOLD HIM I HAD INSTRUCTIONS RE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS ON MISSING PERSONS AND THAT I WAS ASKING POLITICAL COUNSELOR (DCM IS IN BRUSSELS) TO SEE HIM OR ONE OF SENIOR FOREIGN OFFICE OFFICIALS ON MY BEHALF. ELEKDAG WILL BE LEAVING FOR CONFIDENTIAL

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BRUSSELS TOMORROW MORNING BEFORE I RETURN TO ANKARA AND I WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SEE HIM PERSONALLY.

2. I AM NOT FULLY AU COURANT RE "UNRESPONSIVENESS OF THE TURKISH OFFICIALS IN BRUSSELS" BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE WE CAN CONCLUDE ANYTHING PARTICULAR WITH REGARD TO OUR EXPERIENCE ON MISSING PERSONS ISSUE. I DO NOT BELIEVE

TURKS WERE PLAYING GAMES WITH US AND I THINK THAT ELEKDAG RELUCTANTLY BUT GENUINELY BELIEVED HAND HAD BEEN PLAYED OUT AS FAR AS IT COULD WITH DENKTAS AND THEIR OWN MILITARY. ELEKDAG HAD JUST RECEIVED SEVERAL REPORTS FROM TURKISH AMBASSADOR IN NICOSIA ON DEVELOPMENTS BUT HE MADE NO SUBSTANTIVE COMMENTS. IF INDICATIONS OF FAVORABLE OUTCOME MATERIALIZE, IT CAN BE TURNED TO GOOD ACCOUNT IN OUR FUTURE DEALINGS WITH TURKS AND IN COMBATTING POSSIBLE FUTURE UNDERESTIMATIONS OF "GIVE" IN DENKTAS POSITIONS

3. THERE IS ALSO A LESSON IN THIS FOR US, I BELIEVE. WHEN I SUGGESTED TO NIEMETZ THAT HE CONSIDER HAVING CRAWFORD MAKE A DIRECT TRY WITH DENKTAS ON REVISION FOUR, IT WAS BECAUSE I BELIEVED THAT IF THERE WAS ANY FLEXIBILITY IN DENKTAS' POSITION IT WAS MORE LIKELY TO BE DISPLAYED IN DIRECT DEALINGS WITH US - WHERE WE ARE TREATING HIM AS AN INDEPENDENT ACTOR - THAN IF HE CONSIDERS WE REGARD HIM SIMPLY AS AN OBJECT ON WHICH TURKISH PRESSURE IS TO BE FOCUSED; HIS INCENTIVE FOR FLEXIBILITY WOULD BE MAXIMIZED. ALSO, TURKS WILL BE GRATIFIED IF WE DEVELOP AN INDEPENDENT LINE TO DENKTAS AND THEY WILL HAVE AN INCREASED MOTIVATION TO DO WHAT THEY CAN TO HELP WITH IM IF THEY ARE NOT CARRYING ENTIRE BURDEN ALONE.

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RM THIS, OF COURSE, CARRIES A PRICE FOR US TO THE EXTENT WE ENHANCE DENKTAS' POSITION AS AN INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ELEMENT. SINCE I BELIEVE THAT IS THE REALITY OF THE SITUATION, IT MAY IMPROVE OUR ABILITY ALL AROUND TO WORK OUR WAY THROUGH THE COMPLEXITIES WHICH LIE AHEAD.

5. IT WILL PROBABLY BE ADVANTAGEOUS FOR US TO LET THE TURKS FEEL THAT OUR CONFIDENCE IN THEM IS A LITTLE SHAKEN AND I WOULD HOPE THAT OUR PEOPLE IN BRUSSELS WHO WILL BE IN CONTACT WITH THEM IN THE DAYS AHEAD GET THIS POINT ACROSS. I DO NOT, HOWEVER, FEEL THAT OUR BASIC UNDERSTANDING OF TURKISH INTENTIONS IS WRONG. I THINK THAT WE SHOULD PROCEED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE TURKS WANT PROGRESS IN CYPRUS AND ARE PREPARED TO ACT AS A POSITIVE FORCE. WE WILL CERTAINLY ENCOUNTER FURTHER DIFFICULTIES, INCLUDING BUREAUCRATIC DESPAIR AND UNIMAGINATIVENESS - CHARACTERISTICS NOT UNKNOWN IN WASHINGTON - BUT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO MISREAD THESE. IT WOULD ALSO BE VERY DESIRABLE TO HAVE A FURTHER CONFIRMATION BETWEEN SECRETARY AND CAGLAYANGIL THAT WE HAVE A CLEAR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING ON NEXT STEPS TO AVOID ANY INTERPRETATIONS THAT WE ARE BACKTRACKING.

THIS APPLIES PARTICULARLY TO OUR VIEW THAT NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD RESUME IF AT ALL POSSIBLE BEFORE CYPRIOT ELECTIONS, THAT DCA CANNOT BE MOVED PRIOR TO CONGRESS RECONVENING IN JANUARY AND THAT WE ARE COUNTING ON POSITIVE TURKISH MOVES IN NEGOTIATIONS TO ENHANCE DCA PROSPECTS.

6. DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT ANKARA. HOUGHTON UNQUOTE VANCE

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